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ABSTRACT

This report describes bilingual education programs in England that promote the Welsh and Gaelic languages. The section on Welsh includes discussions of: the history of the Welsh language, the Welsh books scheme to promote the availability of published materials in Welsh, the activities of the national language unit of Wales, external examinations, proposals toward a national language policy on Welsh education, Welsh schools, and schools council committee for Wales. Also covered are higher education, teacher training, Welsh in the community, Welsh communities abroad, references and sources, select bibliography, and a list of organizations that promote the Welsh language. The section on Scottish Gaelic includes historical notes, Gaelic in the community, Gaelic in schools, external examinations, higher and further education, teacher training, teaching materials, select bibliography, and a list of organizations concerned with promoting the Scottish Gaelic language. A brief chapter on the Irish language is also presented. Various tabular and pictorial material statistically present the percentages of Welsh/English and Gaelic/English bilingualism. (EJS)

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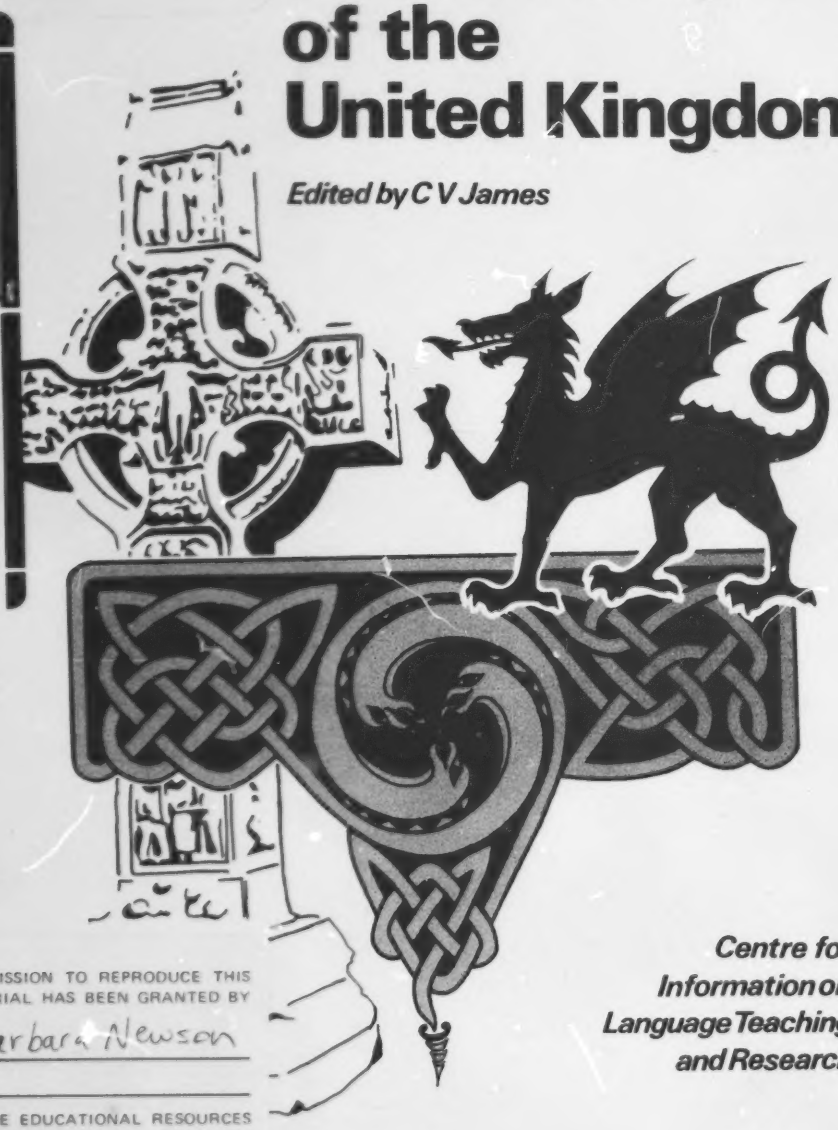
The older mother tongues of the United Kingdom

Edited by C V James



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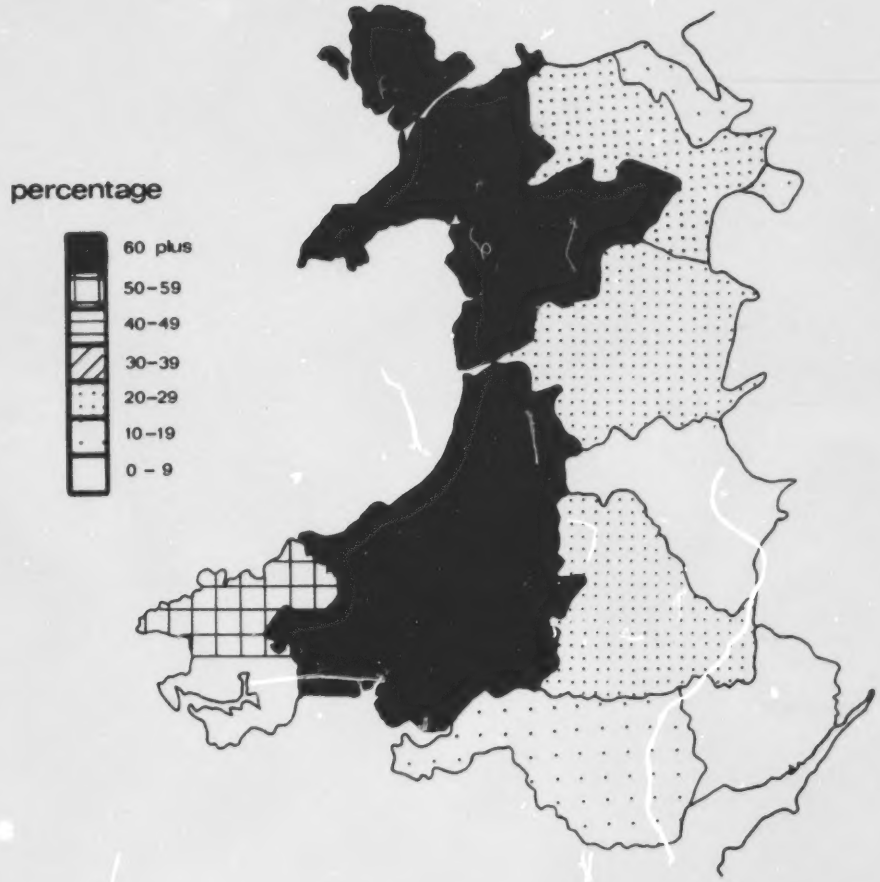

Welsh Speakers by Geographic County in 1971.

(Map prepared by West Glamorgan Resources Centre)

The older mother tongues of the United Kingdom

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Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research, 1978

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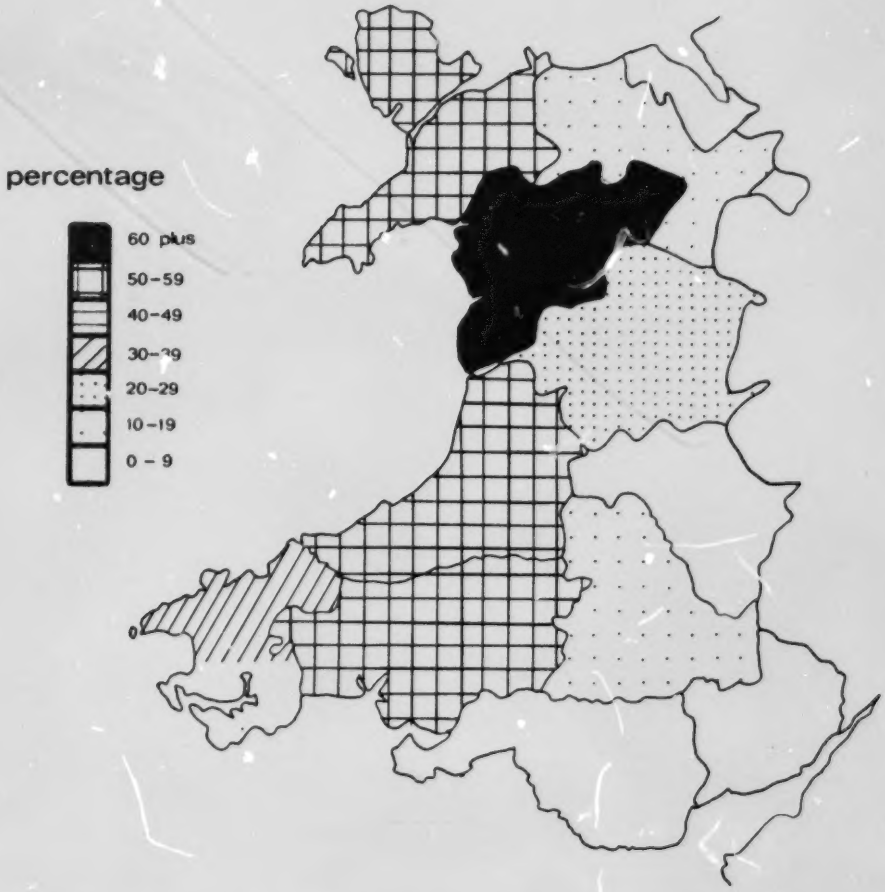
Introduction

The Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research was established primarily for the benefit of teaching foreign languages rather than mother tongues. But one man's mother tongue is another's foreign language, and as the multilingual and multicultural composition of the United Kingdom is increasingly recognised, such distinctions become difficult to sustain.

Both Welsh and Gaelic were here long before the all-pervasive English invaded the Kingdom. In the past both were systematically proscribed by English-speaking rulers; both stubbornly maintained their roots against repression and erosion; both allied themselves with religious faith; happily – in a more linguistically and politically sensitive age – both have shown vigour in their survival and revival. Today the importance of Welsh and Gaelic resides not only in their proud and ancient standing as mother tongues but in their more recent spread as second languages in Wales and Scotland, linking historic cultures to contemporary loyalties, and reinforcing the education of those fortunate enough to become bilingual. The short section on Irish which is included below refers primarily to the language in Northern Ireland. No attempt has been made to deal with the very much wider importance of this language in the national and educational life of the Irish Republic.

The English have never shown much respect for bilingualism – even now they often ignore its existence in their midst. The world, however, is becoming increasingly bilingual. Language teachers in England, often astonishingly ignorant of the languages of Wales and Scotland, could learn much from the bilingual programmes described in the following chapters. It is also right that they should see these in their historical context, as the extension of traditions older than those of English.



Welsh Speaking Children of Primary School Age

by Old Geographic County in 1976.

(Map prepared by West Glamorgan Resources Centre)

Chapter 1:

Welsh	**Eric Evans**	
	Director	*Cyfarwyddwr*
Cymraeg	**National Language**	*Uned Iaith Genedlaethol Cymru*
	Unit of Wales	

Rhagair

Y Gymraeg yw un o ieithoedd hynaf Ewrop ac yn sicr hi yw iaith hynaf Prydain. Mae llenyddiaeth Gymraeg ar gael sy'n dyddio o'r chweched ganrif ac mae rhannau ohoni yn ddealladwy i'r Cymro cyffredin heddiw. Trwy gyfrwng yr iaith hon y datblygodd y Cymry eu bywyd cymdeithasol ac ynddi y crewyd eu traddodiad llenyddol arbennig sy'n rhan hanfodol a gwerthfawr o dreftadaeth Prydain ac Ewrop. Ymddengys o'r diwedd fod ymwybyddiaeth wedi tyfu ym Mhrydain i gyd o werth yr elfennau amrywiol sy'n ffurfio cyfoeth y dreftadaeth Brydeinig. Mae ieithoedd y lleiafrifoedd yn ymladd yn ffyrnig i oroesi yn wyneb dylanwadau aruthrol sy'n tueddu i greu unffurfiaeth. Mae tynged yr iaith Gymraeg felly yn bwnc o ddiddordeb i holl wenhedloedd yr ynysoedd hyn ac i'r byd yn gyffredinol.

Foreword

Welsh is one of the oldest languages of Europe and is certainly the oldest language of Britain. Welsh literature of the sixth century has been preserved, much of which is intelligible to the ordinary Welshman today. Through the medium of this language the Welsh developed their social life, and in it was created their particular literary tradition which is an essential and valuable part of the heritage of Britain and Europe. It seems that at last an awareness has grown throughout Britain of the value of the various elements which comprise the wealth of the British heritage. Minority languages throughout the world are fighting desperately to survive in face of massive forces which are tending to create uniformity. The fate of the Welsh language is therefore a matter of interest not only to the people of these islands but to the world at large.

Some historical notes

Welsh, the historic national language of Wales, is a Celtic language, Celtic being one of the Indo-European group of languages cognate with Germanic, Italic, Hellenic. Celtic subdivided into two groups – 'p' Celtic and 'q' Celtic. 'P' Celtic existed in Gaul and in Britain, where it is called British. British in time disintegrated and from it evolved Welsh, Cornish and Breton. From 'q' Celtic evolved Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Manx.

In the early Welsh society which emerged in post-Roman Britain the Welsh found themselves the inheritors of Roman civilisation. To the east were the

barbarian Saxons, *Y Saeson*, who had conquered part of their lands and severed their land links with their fellow British communities in Scotland and Cornwall.

The Welsh were a Christian society and felt so confident in the authority derived from the antiquity of their Christian origins (some recent research indicates that Christianity may have reached West Wales directly from the Eastern Mediterranean and not through Roman Britain) that the Welsh bishops summoned to the famous meetings with St Augustine at Cricklade and Caerleon in 598, walked out, refusing to accept the Roman position on certain aspects of the faith. The Welsh retained their own customs and later, during his struggle with the Pope, Henry VIII was able to justify the Reformation by reference to the antiquity of the British church which gave it equality and even supremacy over the Roman Church.

The Welsh were a civilised society with a highly developed legal system. In the tenth century the leading Welsh prince, Hywel Dda, called together law makers from all over Wales to Whitland to recodify Welsh law, and thereafter, whatever may have been the political and military divisions in Wales, the land was unified in its legal codes. These were written in Welsh and the legal system was operated through the medium of Welsh. This gives some indication of the sophistication which the language had developed.

Learning flourished in Wales from the early monastic centres such as Llantwit Major, and scholars from Wales were prominent at the court of King Alfred. Fragments of Welsh found in old manuscripts refer to calculations of the movements of the planets and indicate that the use of the language extended into the field of science.

The greatest support for the language came, however, from the bards. They held official positions in the courts of the Welsh princes and were required to perform certain ceremonies. The rules they had to master at bardic schools involved not only the intricacies of Welsh metrics but also a thorough study of Welsh grammar, syntax and vocabulary. In addition they were required to commit to memory the works of earlier poets and important events in history, together with legends, folk tales and genealogies. These continued to be the functions of the bardic order down to the time when it disintegrated – towards the end of the Stuart period.

After the collapse of the last independent Welsh prince in 1282, Welsh lost its official status in Wales. When Owain Glyndŵr led his national uprising in 1400, among his aims were the re-establishment of Welsh laws, the re-instatement of the Welsh language, the creation of two national universities (one in North Wales and one in the South) and the establishment of a Welsh Parliament. After his defeat even more repressive laws were enacted, which seemed designed to erase the Welsh language completely.

Welsh hopes were rekindled by the advent of Henry VII, who was regarded in Wales as *mab y darogan* – the promised deliverer, who would remove the English yoke. The penal laws were revoked and Welshmen found preferment at the royal

court. However, Welsh aspirations and the Welsh language received no official attention until the *Act of Union,* passed in 1536 by Henry VIII.

This Act brought the administration of Wales into conformity with that of England and removed all the disadvantages suffered by Welshmen. It did not, however, grant recognition of any kind to the Welsh language and required all Welshmen to be able to speak English before they could accept any office. By some, this Act is regarded as an act of incorporation, not of union, and many attribute the subsequent erosion of the Welsh language to its provisions. Certainly the Welsh nobility who were attracted to London largely abandoned their interest in Welsh affairs and adopted the English language.

This did not happen immediately, and during the Tudor and early Stuart periods the Welsh nobility, still learned in Welsh scholarship, tried to divert the tide of the Renaissance to the shores of Wales. Numbers of books, typical of the extended new interests of the Renaissance, were published in Welsh in an attempt to bring it into the mainstream of European thought. The most significant was, of course, *The Bible,* which was translated by clergymen steeped in bardic tradition. It appeared in 1588 and it is claimed that in the social disintegration which followed the anglicisation of the Welsh aristocracy, *The Bible* alone gave any official status to the language. It also gave the language a standard literary form which enabled it to withstand tendencies to disintegrate into mutually unintelligible dialects.

Some claim that an opportunity was lost, and that if *The Bible* had been translated into a Welsh more akin to the existing oral forms, this would have led to the creation of a new literary language not so far removed from the speech of people as it is now. It must be remembered that the literary language of the bards used in translating *The Bible* was archaic even in the Middle Ages.

By the middle of the seventeenth century the religious fervour of the Reformation and Counter Reformation led to the restriction of the content of books written in Welsh to religious matters. A revival occurred in the eighteenth century in both prose and poetry, mainly due to literary influences from England and a rediscovery of Welsh antiquity. In the nineteenth century social and political developments led to the appearance of a mass of Welsh writing on religious, social and political matters, and this continues today. Drama, poetry, novels and other forms of literature have developed tremendously in the last two centuries and Welsh literature is probably more vigorous now than at any time in its history.

Nevertheless the effects of the *Act of Union* and in particular the absence of any official status for Welsh have eroded the language considerably. This has become particularly marked in the present century. A review of the position of the Welsh language since the beginning of this century presents a dismal picture, for it shows a continuous and rapid decline in the number able to claim fluency in Welsh, despite the many and varied efforts of organisations and individuals to preserve the language. The persistent decline is shown by the figures in Table 1.

Table 1[1]

Age last birthday	Percentage of population who speak Welsh only					
	1911	1921	1931	1951	1961	1971
a	b	c	d	e	f	g
All ages 3 and above	8.5	6.3	4.0	1.7	1.0	1.3
3–4	13.0	11.2	9.6	6.0	4.7	4.0
5–9	9.7	7.8	6.1	4.2	2.1	1.3
10–14	6.0	4.7	2.9	1.6	0.6	0.8
15–24	4.6	3.6	2.0	0.9	0.5	0.7
25–44	6.2	4.2	2.1	0.8	0.5	0.8
45–64	12.6	8.3	4.6	1.2	1.0	1.3
65 and over	22.4	16.6	10.8	2.8	1.8	2.0
Age last birthday	Percentage of population who speak Welsh and English					
	1911	1921	1931	1951	1961	1971
a	h	j	k	l	m	n
All ages 3 and above	35.0	30.8	32.8	27.2	25.0	19.8
3–4	17.4	15.5	12.5	8.5	8.3	7.3
5–9	26.5	21.6	20.5	15.9	14.7	13.2
10–14	33.7	27.5	27.5	20.6	18.9	16.2
15–24	36.0	30.9	31.5	21.9	20.4	15.2
25–44	37.8	32.7	35.3	26.6	22.7	17.5
45–64	40.3	36.6	39.6	34.2	31.7	23.5
65 and over	37.8	35.3	39.1	37.9	35.4	28.9

The decline can be attributed to a number of factors:

(a) Gradual erosion of the traditional strongholds of the language in the West (now Gwynedd and Dyfed) through the continuing depopulation of these areas, particularly by the departure of young Welsh speakers. This situation is further aggravated by the arrival of English families; in those areas where the level of population has been maintained or shows a slight increase, as in some of the coastal regions, this has been almost entirely due to the influx of people from across the border.

Table 2[2]

	The place of Welsh and English in the schools of Wales HMSO, 1953 Pupils 5–11 years			*Report on the Welsh language 1971 census* 5–9 years	*Welsh in the primary schools of Gwynedd, Powys and Dyfed. Welsh Education Office Survey No. 5*[3] *1974 Welsh language survey* 5–11 years				
	A Welsh as first language	B Fluent after learning Welsh as second language	Total	Welsh speaking	A Welsh as first language	B Fluent after learning Welsh as second language	Total	C Initially English speaking but with developing command of Welsh	Total
Anglesey	74%	5%	79%	59%	45%	2.8%	47.8%	16.8%	64.6%
Caernarvon	67%	5%	72%	64%	49%	7.1%	56.1%	15%	71.1%
Merioneth	77%	6%	83%	78%	55%	9%	64%	14%	78%
Montgomery	22%	2%	24%	19%	12%	1.5%	13.5%	10%	23.5%
Radnor	0	0	0	1.5%	0.6%	0	0.6%	3%	3.6%
Brecon	15%	2%	17%	15%	8.7%	3%	11.7%	22%	33.7%
Carmarthen	56%	6%	62%	52%	33%	3.8%	36.8%	11.5%	48.3%
Cardigan	71%	4%	75%	67%	45%	8%	53%	21%	74%
Pembroke	19%	1%	20%	14%	9%	0.5%	9.5%	13%	22.5%

(b) The increasing influence of the mass-media – television, radio and press. The result has been the introduction of English into numerous homes where otherwise only Welsh would have been heard.

(c) The failure, in general, during the first half of this century to teach Welsh successfully as a second language to the school population. Ultimately, it is only in the schools that the decline in the use of the language can be arrested, for schools are the only agencies that can enable sufficient numbers to become Welsh speakers to make a significant improvement in the position of the language. The crucial importance of schools is revealed dramatically by a comparison of the two linguistic maps of Wales, one showing Welsh speakers amongst the whole population in 1971, and the other Welsh speakers among primary school children in 1976 (see inside front cover and page 6).

(d) The decline in chapel-going. Chapels not only provided opportunities for religious worship on Sundays, but also maintained a full social life during the rest of the week. This gave Welsh a public function and status in the life of the community. Most of this activity has now disappeared.

Present trends in the position of the language in schools are revealed by reports and surveys made by different bodies during the last 25 years. Table 2 gives a fair indication of these trends (see page 11).

Unfortunately similar figures for all the Welsh counties are not available, but the table shows the position during the last 25 years. The decline in the number of Welsh speakers continues, as indicated in columns A and B, but some hope for the future is offered by the number of five to eleven year olds in column C now acquiring a command of the language. If fluency could be assured for children in this group before they leave the primary school, not only would the decline have been arrested but much of the lost ground would have been regained. An indication of the determination of Gwynedd and Dyfed to succeed in their bilingual policies is their decision to appoint twenty specialist advisory teachers each. Every advisory teacher will have responsibility for the primary schools in the catchment area of one secondary school so as to assure a coherent bilingual policy from primary through to secondary schools. There are grounds, therefore, for confidence that the group of children in column C will achieve an acceptable level of bilingualism; this would, of course, stabilise the position of Welsh in those critically important areas.

In the more anglicised Eastern counties of Clwyd and Glamorgan great efforts have been made during the last twenty years to improve the position of the language. Statistics are not at present available, but information from the education departments suggests that these efforts have not been without success, as Table 3 illustrates:

Table 3[4]

County	*Age*	*% speaking Welsh 1961 Census*	*% speaking Welsh 1971 Census*	*Estimated % of Welsh speakers 1978*
Clwyd	5–9	17.4	14.9	15
Glamorgan	5–9	6.2	5.5	6

Welsh in education

Welsh scholars believe that schools of various kinds existed in Wales from the earliest period, including some for training lawyers, and Mr Saunders Lewis thinks proof of their existence can be found in early Welsh literature.[5] Be that as it may, little, if anything at all, is known of these schools. Similarly very little is known of the monastic and church schools, although it is fair to assume that they followed much the same pattern as those in other countries. The religious centres contributed a valuable service by copying manuscripts on a massive scale and must therefore have shown a great interest in Welsh literature, even if it did not form part of their formal curriculum.

Fortunately, more is known of the bardic schools, in which the language, history and cultural heritage of the Welsh people were studied. Bards were tutored by a *Pencerdd* (chief bard) for nine years, after which they received a licence to practise their craft. The bardic lore was committed to memory, but fortunately a few written records remain to reveal the nature of the training. However in the Stuart period the bardic order disintegrated, and with it the native tradition of education in the language and culture of Wales.

Some early grammar schools were established in the Tudor period and later. They were modelled on similar schools in England and were quite alien in spirit; the language and literature of Wales had no status, though there are instances of enlightened teachers introducing at least some of their pupils to the treasures of their Welsh heritage, leading ultimately to the re-emergence of Welsh scholarship.

Following the Reformation and Counter Reformation a number of schools were opened in Wales for religious and spiritual purposes. The work of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) led to the creation of many schools which found it necessary to use Welsh as the medium of instruction. Nevertheless Welsh was permitted with considerable reluctance as a necessary evil.

The eighteenth century is significant for the work of Griffith Jones, Vicar of Llanddowror, who established his famous Circulating schools. By the early years of the century many SPCK schools had closed and resources were not available to re-establish them or create new schools. Inspired by zeal to save souls, Griffith Jones found his own answer. He took his schools to the people, using barns or any other building he could acquire temporarily. His aim was to teach adults, as well as children, to read the Bible and Prayer Book in Welsh. Once the school

had taken root he would leave it in the care of local people and move on to another area.

The Circulating schools did not last long, but they taught thousands of people to read. Their spirit was transferred to the Sunday schools, which became a powerful force for teaching reading throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thomas Charles is the acknowledged pioneer of these schools whose influence in Wales was incalculable. However, like Griffith Jones, Thomas Charles also had to justify the use of Welsh, finding it necessary to assert (in a letter to a Mr Christopher Anderson of Dublin): 'At first the long-standing prejudice, which prevailed universally against teaching them to read Welsh first, and the assumption that they could not learn English so well if previously instructed in Welsh, proved a great stumbling block.'[6]

Even the Commissioners in the *Reports of inquiry into the state of education in Wales*[7] in 1847 (the infamous *Blue Books*) commented favourably on the Sunday schools. 'They were the main instrument of civilisation in North Wales' and had 'determined the character of the language, literature and general intelligence of the inhabitants. The language cultivated in the Sunday schools being Welsh, the religious vocabulary of the Welsh language has been enlarged, strengthened and rendered capable of expressing every shade of idea, and the great mass of the poorer classes have been trained from their childhood to its use.'

It is quite apparent that Welsh education, such as it was, was not related to the secular world, but virtually existed solely for religious purposes. Day schools did come into existence in the nineteenth century, but these too were dominated by religious considerations. The National schools were maintained by the Church of England and the British schools by the non-conformists. It is not therefore completely surprising that in their report of 1847 the Commissioners made such savage attacks upon the schools. All the social, cultural and economic disadvantages they saw, or felt they saw, in Wales, they attributed to the language. 'His language keeps him under the hatches, being one in which he can neither acquire nor communicate the necessary information.' This led to the conclusion: 'The Welsh language is a vast drawback to Wales, and a manifold barrier to the moral progress and commercial prosperity of the people . . . It dissevers the people from intercourse which would greatly advance their civilisation, and bars the access of improving knowledge to their minds.'

The publication of this report had a devastating effect on opinion in Wales. There were naturally vehement protests against *Brad y Llyfrau Gleision* (The Betrayal of the *Blue Books*) and the reaction aroused is not unconnected with the growth of political nationalism in the nineteenth century. Despite this, the harmful effects of these reports remain, in some form, even today. Their worst effect, however, was to ensure that when the *1870 Education Act* came into force and when a state system of elementary education developed as a consequence, Welsh language and literature were totally ignored, and found no place whatsoever in the curriculum. The *Welsh not* came into existence in a deliberate attempt to erase the language from the schools: any child heard

speaking Welsh had a wooden halter placed over his shoulders. If he heard another child use Welsh he could transfer the *Welsh not* to him. The child carrying this halter at the end of the day was caned.

The *Welsh Intermediate Act* passed in 1899 gave virtually no encouragement to the teaching of Welsh, and it took several years for Welsh to be admitted as a subject in the intermediate schools. It is not surprising, although perhaps not completely fair, that many regard the *1870 Act* and the *1889 Welsh Intermediate Act* as deliberate attempts to destroy the Welsh language.

Following the disastrous effects of the *Blue Books* and the total absence of reference to the language in the early years of state education, much of the effort of Welsh educationists had to be devoted to recovering for Welsh its dignity and self respect. In this, the contribution of Sir O M Edwards, who was the first Chief Inspector of Schools of the Welsh Department of the Board of Education cannot be too highly praised. A deeply sensitive person who had frequently suffered the indignity of the *Welsh not* – an experience all the more searing for him because of his ardent patriotism and his great awareness, both as former Oxford don and as a product of the rich cultural community in Llanuwchllyn, of the wealth and vitality of the Welsh cultural tradition – he dedicated his life to ensuring that Welsh language and culture should be an essential part of the curriculum of the schools of the Principality.

The efforts of Sir O M Edwards, the influence of Welsh scholarship developing in the then recently founded University of Wales, the activities of the National *Eisteddford* of Wales, the growing political self-awareness of Welsh people stemming from *Undeb Cymru Fydd* (New Wales Union), from the Liberal Party, which had embraced Home Rule under pressure from Wales (notably by Tom Ellis and Lloyd George) and from the new Labour Party which, under the leadership of Keir Hardie, elected to represent Merthyr Tydfil, had also adopted Home Rule as its policy – all these forces gave impetus to the drive to gain for the Welsh language its rightful place in the schools of Wales.

The culmination of these pressures was the appearance of the *Report of the Departmental Committee on Welsh in the Educational System in Wales* in 1927.[5] It surveyed the social and cultural life of Wales, noted the need to accept the concept of bilingualism and stressed that the educational system of Wales should be much more closely related to the social pattern and cultural heritage of the country. It made recommendations for a language policy which has formed the basis for all subsequent developments. It urged that language policies should reflect the fact that both Welsh and English were, for different groups of children, mother tongues; that the mother tongue should be the sole medium of instruction in the early years of a child at school; and that the second language should be introduced gradually. In mixed linguistic areas, where it might not be possible to organise each school on a mother tongue basis, it argued the case for establishing 'centrally situated schools set apart as Welsh schools'. This recommendation provided the justification for the creation, after the 1939–1945 war, of the Welsh schools which have made such a dramatic impact on education in Wales.

The responsibility for providing for the teaching of Welsh within the educational system rests with the local education authorities. However, these came together in 1948 to form the Welsh Joint Education Committee (WJEC) to carry out certain activities which would have been beyond the capacity of the individual authorities. Its main functions have been to operate the external schools examination system and to support the local authorities in their Welsh policies by providing resources and expertise.

Welsh books scheme

One of the gravest problems facing post-war Wales was to ensure that schools received their most vital teaching resource – books. The decline in the number of Welsh-speaking children meant that what had always been a small market was contracting to a level which made commercial publication too risky. It is claimed that a publisher needs to sell between 1,200 and 2,000 books to break even: in terms relative to population a sale of this quantity in Welsh would correspond to one of best seller proportions in English in the United Kingdom. Yet this is approximately the size of the market in Wales. The reluctance of the Welsh publishing houses to venture into such a small market is understandable.

Obviously something had to be done if the schools were to receive the essential resources to provide an education in Welsh. In 1959 the predominantly Welsh counties of Caernarvon, Cardigan and Merioneth formed a consortium in order to provide a guaranteed purchase of every book approved by them for use in schools. Anglesey and Pembroke joined the scheme in 1960, followed later by Flint and Denbigh, and in 1966 the WJEC took responsibility for the scheme on behalf of fourteen authorities.

(a) General readers

Under this scheme each LEA agreed to buy enough copies of all books published to distribute a sample copy to each school. This ensures that sufficient copies will be bought to make it commercially attractive to publish.

The scheme is administered by a panel of teachers, language advisers, college of education lecturers and librarians of the Schools Library Service. Manuscripts are received for consideration by the panel from a variety of sources—competitions organised by the LEAs or nationally, commissioned manuscripts, some submitted by individual authors, and translations from other languages.

They are considered by experts, who make recommendations for decision by the panel. The publisher is thereafter responsible for printing and marketing, though he is guaranteed the initial sales. Where necessary the professional officers of the WJEC, who administer the scheme, offer editorial advice.

Books from other countries have been accepted into the scheme for several reasons: to ensure that Welsh children have access to the best children's books available; to provide ideas for Welsh authors; and in the hope that the professional

standard of printing and illustration will inspire Welsh publishers to improve their own standards. Of course, the small Welsh market would not bear the cost of expensively produced, colourful books, but Welsh versions of volumes from other countries make books of high quality available for schools at a reasonable price.

Books are produced for children up to eighteen – mainly for Welsh speakers, but also for learners. The annual publishing programme seeks to maintain a balance between the age-groups as shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Availability of readers[9]

	Age group	*Number of books*
Welsh speakers	7	8
	7–9	8
	9–11	7
	11–15	10
	15–18	5
Slow readers		2
Learners		10

(b) Textbooks

Provision is also made by the WJEC for the publishing of textbooks for schools where Welsh is the medium of instruction. A specialist panel was set up in 1969 to advise the WJEC in this field.

To provide the panel with feed-back from schools the professional officers of the WJEC arrange conferences every three years for the specialist subject teachers from all the secondary schools where Welsh is a medium of instruction. They meet in subject groups and advise the WJEC on needs of schools. The information is referred to the Textbooks panel, who arrange a publishing programme by commissioning or arranging for translations, or accepting suitable manuscripts submitted by individual authors. By March 1976, 51 textbooks had been published, sixteen of which had been translated from English, in Welsh language, Welsh literature, Welsh history, religious education, early history, geography, science, woodwork, metalwork, cookery, needlework, music and shorthand.

In addition the first volume of a six-part encyclopaedia in Welsh for children aged eleven to fourteen has appeared.

The following table gives a clear picture of the extent of the publishing programme of the WJEC in its first ten years:

Table 5[10]

Year	*First language books*	*Second language books*	*Books for slow learners*	*Textbooks*	*Total*
1965–66	–	–	–	1	1
1966–67	26	4	–	–	30
1967–68	32	12	–	2	46
1968–69	38	9	–	1	48
1969–70	41	7	1	5	54
1970–71	39	9	–	4	52
1971–72	37	11	2	9	59
1972–73	61	6	1	10	78
1973–74	47	9	1	6	63
1974–75	48	11	[illegible]	7	74
1975–76	58	7	3	6	74
Total	427	85	16	51	579

Uned Iaith Genadlaethol Cymru: The National Language Unit of Wales

In April 1964, The Department of Education and Science in Wales convened a national conference at Cardiff to consider afresh the teaching of Welsh, particularly as a second language, in the light of the dramatic effect the introduction of language laboratories and audio-visual courses was supposed to be having on the teaching of modern languages. It was felt that children who were becoming accustomed to new and sophisticated materials and techniques in learning French would regard Welsh as inferior and out-dated unless similar materials were used. In those heady days the claims made for these new developments created a genuine fear that Welsh would be left trailing behind, despised and rejected.

The conference was attended by representatives of the local education authorities, faculties of education, teachers' associations and radio and television authorities who had interests in schools broadcasting.

During the conference it became apparent that the preparation of audio-visual materials for Welsh would entail considerable expense and that it would therefore prove impracticable to provide more than one course for each age-group. National courses were therefore the only possibility and the language used would have to be acceptable throughout the whole of Wales. Since it was thought that audio-visual materials were most appropriate in the early stages of language learning, it was decided to concentrate on primary schools, for in Wales the general practice was to introduce Welsh at the age of seven, though some authorities advocated it at the infants' stage. The conference discussed the problem of

agreeing upon a suitable standard of oral Welsh and urged that research should be undertaken immediately to elaborate a temporary model.

The recommendations were forwarded to the WJEC, where it was decided to accept them in principle and to establish a National Language Unit as soon as possible. Two working parties were established, one consisting of Welsh scholars and teachers to produce a temporary model of spoken Welsh, and the other to conduct experiments to assess the suitability of audio-visual materials for children aged seven. Both had completed their investigations by the time the National Language Unit was opened in September, 1968.

The findings of the working party investigating oral Welsh appeared as a booklet *Cymraeg Byw* (Living Welsh)[11] and was, regrettably, received with hostility in certain scholarly circles, though it was welcomed on the whole by teachers.

The working party investigating the role of audio-visual materials made recommendations which formed the basis for all courses subsequently created in the National Language Unit. It had become clear to some of the leading figures in Welsh language teaching that the direct method was not proving successful, though it had long been advocated. Early in the 1960's experiments had been conducted in a number of primary schools in Glamorgan using the techniques developed by C J Dodson [12] at University College of Aberystwyth. Other experiments had been conducted along similar lines in primary schools in North Wales, and in a number of secondary schools throughout the whole country. The evidence from these experiments showed conclusively that rapid interpretation drills were popular and successful in introducing structures and vocabulary, and (when properly used) could lead on to more traditional direct method activities.

The working party decided therefore to base its trial materials on the rapid interpretation technique and find a new role for the audio-visual aids. Language already introduced by the teacher could be utilised and illustrated in situations presented visually with an accompanying dialogue which gained in realism by being co-ordinated with visual representation. There were practical considerations supporting this decision. Very few primary schools and not very many secondary schools had audio-visual rooms, therefore audio-visual equipment would have to be transported from classroom to classroom. An over-reliance on audio-visual techniques could therefore have proved too burdensome for teachers, and the whole language programme could have suffered. One further consideration was the linguistic competence of teachers. In the majority of the Welsh LEAs Welsh is taught by the class teacher, who is unlikely to be a specialist language teacher. Many of these have an imperfect command of Welsh, and some would feel inhibited if they were asked to teach by the direct method, or by any other method which demanded extensive and spontaneous use of the language. The rapid interpretation technique allows teachers to know precisely in advance the range of language needed at any stage, thus removing much of their diffidence.

The National Language Unit opened in 1968 in purpose-built premises, comprising a recording studio, a tape/cassette copying installation, an artist's studio, a language laboratory, a lecture room and teachers' work rooms. Initially the

staff consisted of the Director, two primary teachers, an artist, a technician and a clerical assistant; a third primary teacher was appointed a year later. Additional appointments were made subsequently and the present staff consists of Director, Deputy Director, four teachers and two teacher field officers.

A variety of courses has been produced for teaching Welsh as a second language in primary and secondary schools, including a self-instructional course for primary school children to help overcome the problem of teacher shortage, as well as courses for adult learners. Language reinforcement and language enrichment materials for first language schools have also been created. All these courses make extensive use of audio-visual aids – nearly 400 master tapes and about 250 filmstrips have been produced. Minute consideration was given to vocabulary selection, grading of structures and the choice of situations through which the language was to develop. The aim was to present the type of situations youngsters met in real life and to use real life language – including vigorous, at times even rather abusive, expressions.

The Language Unit is greatly involved in in-service training. Special courses are held to teach Welsh to teachers so that they in turn may teach it to the pupils, and a great number of courses on language teaching methodology are held throughout Wales. The field officers provide training in the schools themselves, and this service seems highly prized by teachers.

In the last ten years or so there has been a great revival of interest in learning Welsh among adults in Wales. In response to the need for suitable materials for this group of learners a conference was held at the Language Unit in 1971, attended by all the bodies with an interest in adult education. As a result the WJEC formed a special panel for teaching Welsh to adults, to advise the Language Unit on the implementation of the recommendations made by the conference. This resulted in the preparation of an ambitious audio-visual course with various types of supplementary tapes to cater both for learners attending classes and for those studying at home.

One very important development has been the growth of week-end and summer courses. The Language Unit itself conducts week-end courses on behalf of three LEAs in Wales, and other authorities organise their own. The Language Unit is also responsible for two one-week summer schools to supplement the provision made by the University of Wales, Coleg Harlech and the Mid-Glamorgan Summer School. There are now eight official centres providing summer courses for Welsh learners as well as those organised by voluntary bodies, eg *Urdd Gobaith Cymru* (the Welsh League of Youth), *Merched y Wawr*, (Welsh Women's Institute), *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* (Welsh Language Society).

A survey made by the Welsh Language Council in 1975 revealed that in the predominantly English speaking counties of Clwyd and Mid-Glamorgan, Welsh was by far the most popular language in evening classes. In Clwyd there were 58 classes in Welsh and eleven in all other languages, and in Mid-Glamorgan 69 Welsh classes and 27 in all the other languages. Indeed, Welsh emerged as the most popular subject in evening classes apart from dressmaking. The survey also

indicated that in 1974 well over 5,000 learners were attending official classes, while many hundreds were learning Welsh in other classes organised by voluntary bodies.

External examinations

The WJEC maintains the external examination system in Wales, and provides papers for candidates in the CSE, GCE 'O' and 'A' levels in Welsh as well as in English. Candidates may elect to answer in Welsh or in English. This has been a comparatively recent development but is growing rapidly as the figures in Table 6 demonstrate.

Table 6: Examinations conducted through the medium of Welsh[13]

	Number of schools	*Number of subjects*
'A' level		
1967	2	1
1977	22	12
'O' level		
1965	6	6
1977	37	24
CSE		
1972	18	13
1977	21	27

Welsh has gained in popularity as an examination subject, particularly since the WJEC introduced new papers in which pupils who have acquired their knowledge of Welsh at school are examined separately from native speakers, as revealed by the following table.

Table 7[14]

	English language	*French*	*Welsh language (all groups)*	*All other languages including Greek and Latin*
'A' level				
1966	1,994	965	452	610
1976	2,862	897	580	431
'O' level				
1966	8,213	3,575	1,794	1,897
1976	20,822	5,772	4,484	3,296
CSE				
1976	15,659	3,655	3,049	613

Towards a National Language Policy

In 1973 the WJEC set up a working party to review the policies of the LEAs and make recommendations. The working party completed its survey in 1974 and its recommendations were accepted by the WJEC for consideration by the LEAs as the basis of a National Policy. The main proposals have been accepted by virtually all the LEAs though the emphasis given to them and the vigour with which they are pursued vary significantly.

The *Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education in Wales* published in 1967 *(Gittins Report)*[15] had made recommendations concerning the provision which local authorities ought to make for the various linguistic groups in Wales. Despite this, arrangements varied considerably from area to area. The WJEC hoped to recommend a policy which all authorities could consider so that there would be, in effect, a national policy for teaching Welsh and using Welsh as a medium of instruction.

The report of the panel accepted by the WJEC does in practice form the basis of the policies of the local authorities, though not all have yet formulated detailed language policies.

The report referred to the Welsh Books Scheme, the materials produced by the Language Unit, the Schools Council projects, classification of schools, supply of teachers of Welsh, provision for teacher training, advisory staff and in-service training.

In its classification of schools the report identified four types:

- traditionally Welsh medium schools, mainly in rural areas;
- Welsh schools *(Ysgolion Cymraeg)*, mainly in anglicised areas;
- traditionally English medium schools involved in the Schools Council experimental bilingual education project;
- other traditionally English medium schools, in some of which Welsh is taught as a subject.

These are found everywhere in Wales, except that in Gwent, Mid-Glamorgan and South Glamorgan there are no traditionally Welsh medium schools. The provision of Welsh schools, bilingual project schools, and the teaching of Welsh as a subject in English medium schools varies considerably from authority to authority, but some provision exists everywhere in Wales. To this extent a national policy can be said to be emerging.

Welsh schools *(Ysgolion Cymraeg)*

Welsh schools at primary level were first suggested in an education report *Welsh in education and life* in 1927, but virtually no attention was given to the proposal by the education authorities before the 1939–45 war. However, a voluntary Welsh school was established by *Urdd Gobaith Cymru* in Aberystwyth in 1939

and adopted later by the local authority. The first official Welsh school was established in Llanelli in 1947 and was followed rapidly by a number of others, so that by 1951 there were thirteen, and by 1965 – 39. In their early years these schools were quite small but they grew quickly; it is estimated that the average growth by 1965 had been threefold.

The *Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education in Wales* in 1967 comments: 'The rate of establishment appears to have slackened recently and evidence offered by authorities suggests either that demand has been met in present circumstances or that it would be difficult to respond to further requests for such schools because of the small scattered number of children involved'. But the truth is that demand has continued to grow, and on a massive scale. The schools have increased from 39 in 1965 to 66 in 1977, and numbers attending each school have also grown. One index of this growth is the provision of bilingual secondary education. In the former counties of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire one small comprehensive school (Ysgol Rhydfelen) was able to cater for all the Welsh primary schools. There are now three fairly big schools (1,000–plus pupils) – all overcrowded – serving this same area, (Rhydfelen, Llanhari and Ystalyfera) and new schools are being prepared. One will open in Cardiff (September 1978), another in the Caerphilly area (a year or so later) and consideration is being given to establishing yet another in West Glamorgan. By September 1978 there will be twelve officially designated bilingual secondary schools in Wales, as well as a number of other secondary schools where some subjects are taught to some pupils through the medium of Welsh.

Some indication of future trends can be gleaned from the activities of *Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin* (Welsh Nursery School Movement). Founded at the Bangor National Eisteddfod in 1971, the movement exists to develop and extend nursery education through the medium of Welsh as a preparation for Welsh medium primary education. It is a voluntary body and was maintained entirely by private subscriptions until 1973–74 when it received a grant from the Welsh Office of £5,000. This has increased subsequently as follows.

Table 8[16]

	Grant
1974–75	£15,000
1975–76	£24,000
1976–77	£36,200
1977–78	£46,375

It also receives some support from the local authorities. The Welsh Office grant enables the movement to employ a Director, a National Adviser and a number of Development Officers. However, much of its income comes from fund raising activities, and the play groups themselves have to be self-financing. Parents there-

fore have to pay for their children to attend and for any transport necessary.

In 1971 there were 70 Welsh play groups; by 1978 they had risen to 316. The number of children attending these play groups is estimated to be between 4,500 and 5,000. When these figures are compared with those of the numbers of children attending Welsh primary and secondary schools at the present time it becomes immediately apparent that a further substantial growth is certain to occur in the future.

Table 9

	Pupils in Welsh play groups (Ages 3–5 years)	*Pupils in Welsh primary schools (Ages 4/5–11 years)*	*Pupils in Welsh secondary schools (Ages 11+ – 16/18 years)*
1977	4,500–5,000	9,241	6,001

It must also be remembered that many of these play groups have waiting lists for admission and that more are opening continually.

The following table shows the numbers of pupils attending Welsh schools in anglicised areas. It can be seen that since 1970 the increase in primary schools has been nearly 50% and in secondary schools almost 300%.

Table 10 [17]

Pupils attending Welsh schools in anglicised areas	*1970*	*1977*
Primary	6,253	9,241
Secondary	2,017	6,001

On the basis of the numbers now attending the voluntary Welsh play groups it is possible to make a projection which would indicate that if adequate administrative arrangements are made the numbers will probably increase by 50% in Welsh primary schools and by 100% in secondary schools within the next ten years. The growth could well be greater if extension were to occur more uniformly throughout the anglicised areas. Schools tend to grow in clusters relatively close to one another. In the Caerphilly area, for example, there are four schools; in the Pontypridd area – four; whereas in the Merthyr area there are only two, in Aberdare only one, in the Rhondda Valleys only two and in the growing Bridgend area only two. If the anticipated growth does take place it will have an even greater impact in terms of percentage because overall the school population is falling.

There can be no question therefore that Welsh schools, which are located almost entirely in anglicised areas, are extremely popular. As the *Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education in Wales* 1967 says:

> 'The Welsh schools set up in anglicised areas represent one of the most significant developments of the last 30 years . . . . . The original aim of these schools was to provide a focus of Welsh instruction, traditions and life in areas which could make no provision for a minority of Welsh-speaking children whose parents wished them to be educated in their mother tongue. They have been consciously modelled on the rural school in the Welsh-speaking areas and are motivated by the traditional Welsh emphasis on literature, *penillion* singing, music and institutions such as the *eisteddfod*. Their strength is their strong relationship with parents, and their close connection with local chapels and the *Urdd*. Their staffs are committed and dedicated. These features are lessons for all primary schools in Wales.'

However, by now it is doubtful whether most parents would regard these aspects of Welsh schools as being the most significant. They would regard the commitment of the staff, the success in developing bilingualism and the general educational programme, including adequate attention to the 'three R's', as being the real incentives to send their children to Welsh schools.

These are essentially bilingual schools in which Welsh is the main medium of instruction at the infants stage, while English is introduced at the junior stage and thereafter increasingly used as a medium of instruction. In the same way at the secondary stage some subjects usually the arts, are taught through the medium of Welsh and other usually sciences, through the medium of English, though in some cases Welsh may be used to present some of the science subjects and mathematics. Even where English is the medium of instruction, Welsh may be used occasionally, particularly if the teacher considers that he can make a difficult explanation more easily understood by using Welsh.

Welsh schools could not possibly have grown, and would probably have become extinct in all but a few areas, had they clung to their original purpose, which was to provide an education through the mother tongue for children of a diminishing linguistic minority. It was therefore expected, and usually rigorously required, that children could only be admitted if they were already fluent in Welsh. However, from their early years Welsh schools found that a number of parents at first very small, wished their children to attend these schools, knowing full well that it was the only type of school which could guarantee bilingualism. Schools and education authorities were reluctant to admit such children, fearing for their educational well-being, and one LEA operated a four-plus oral examination in Welsh to ensure that no child was admitted unable to understand and express himself adequately in Welsh. It was for this reason that the early voluntary nursery groups came into existence – as preparatory schools to teach enough Welsh to enable children to gain admittance.

This screening gradually broke down and by the early 1960's virtually any child

was accepted. The dramatic growth of these schools can be attributed to the spread of knowledge among non-Welsh speaking parents that their children could be admitted to Welsh schools and a developing confidence that their education would not suffer. Now in many of the Welsh schools up to 90% of the pupils (even 100% in a few cases) are from English speaking homes.

The development of the Welsh schools has been welcomed on the whole, but not unexpectedly it has also aroused some hostility, and there is some evidence that deliberate attempts are being made to frustrate their further growth. Fear of the language becoming a requirement for an increasing number of jobs is one cause, but prejudice is also a factor. This is a sensitive area, and Welsh and non-Welsh speakers need to adopt a sympathetic and tolerant attitude to one another to avoid linguistic polarisation, which could divide Welsh society and create tensions ultimately disastrous to the language.

Schools Council Committee for Wales

The Committee for Wales of the Schools Council has initiated a variety of Welsh language projects which have made a significant contribution to the language programmes of the schools of Wales. There have been a number of projects designed to develop new materials for teaching Welsh as a first language, for English as a second language, for teaching mathematics and science through the medium of Welsh, for assessing attitudes to Welsh and English in schools and for developing bilingual education in both primary and secondary schools.

Unquestionably of all these projects the greatest impact has been made by the Bilingual Education Project in Primary Schools. These schools model themselves on the Welsh schools, but whereas Welsh schools concentrate entirely on Welsh during the infants' stage, the bilingual schools accept that English is the mother tongue of the children and introduce Welsh gradually as a medium of instruction, aiming at enabling pupils to gain fluency by the end of the primary stage.

Over 300 such schools have been established since the project began in 1969, mainly in the western counties of Wales.

In the research report on the Bilingual Education Project it was found, using tests developed by the National Foundation for Educational Research in reading, English, mathematics, non-verbal and verbal reasoning, that the attainment of children in the project schools compared very satisfactorily with children in matched schools not following the project. It was concluded therefore that the bilingual programme had had no harmful effect on the general development of the children. At the same time using other tests, not standardised, it was claimed that in many cases a high level of attainment had been achieved in Welsh.

One of the major difficulties is the supply of materials suitably graded in terms of language structures dealing with various aspects of the curriculum. The Language Unit, which was asked by the Schools Council to maintain an after-care service, is preparing a series of project-type materials, some of which have

already appeared, to help teachers extend the use of Welsh as a medium of activity.

There have been three first language projects. One, dealing with young children, made a scientific analysis of children's language as a first step in the preparation of a new reading scheme. The other two projects dealt with junior and secondary schools respectively and aimed at developing the child's capacity to express himself, in speech and in writing, in the whole range of experiences necessary for a full life. These two projects created a wealth of new source materials, some of which have now been published and which have led to interesting work in schools. One consequence of the secondary project was the decision to create a new 'O' level examination which would test more effectively the more creative and imaginative use of Welsh which the project developed.

Higher education

The five constituent colleges of the University of Wales *(Prifysgol Cymru)* all provide degree courses in Welsh language and literature. The university colleges of Bangor and Aberystwyth also provide degree courses in some subjects through the medium of Welsh.

There has been some agitation in Wales since the last war for the creation of a Welsh medium university college, but so far this has been resisted, mainly on the grounds that it would deprive the remainder of the university of much of its Welshness. The alternative proposal was to make provision in the two most Welsh colleges for students to study through the medium of Welsh. Thus it is now possible to take a degree course in several arts subjects in this way (eg history, philosophy, education, sociology, biblical studies, theology, economics) and research theses can be submitted in any field of study in Welsh.

Welsh halls of residence have been established in both these colleges for students who wish to develop the social side of university life through the medium of Welsh.

Through its Board of Celtic Studies the University of Wales has made a massive contribution to Welsh scholarship. The University publishes scholarly periodicals in Welsh dealing not only with the literary matters but with philosophy and science as well. The University of Wales Press publishes annually a number of books, many in Welsh, on a whole range of subjects. It also created a *Pwyllgor Bathu Geiriau* (Word-coining committee) – a committee to coin terminology for various disciplines – history, geography, mathematics, physics, economics and others – to enable schools and colleges to teach through the medium of Welsh.

Teacher training

Following the fall in the birth rate with the consequential drop in demand for teachers the Department of Education and Science has re-organised teacher training. In future it will be concentrated in Institutes of Higher Education

in Gwent (Caerleon), South Glamorgan (Cardiff), West Glamorgan (Swansea) and Clwyd (Wrexham), and at Bangor Normal and Trinity College, Carmarthen. While it will be possible to follow a course in Welsh as a subject at most of these colleges, special provision will continue, as at present, at Bangor and Carmarthen for some students to follow their training through the medium of Welsh. This enables students to continue their Welsh medium education from school to higher education.

Some fears are being expressed that the output of teachers able to teach Welsh as a subject and to teach through the medium of Welsh will be insufficient to meet the demand. In its report *Towards a national language policy* the WJEC noted that there was a shortage of teachers of Welsh in 1973, and felt that 'the shortages are becoming more acute'. [18]

For some years the Polytechnic of Wales conducted one-year in-service courses for non-Welsh speaking teachers to enable them to learn Welsh and be trained in language teaching techniques. Regrettably the difficult economic circumstances forced this course to close in 1976. West Glamorgan has just commenced a similar course of 25 weeks duration.

Welsh in the community

There had been great disquiet in Wales over the lack of official recognition of the language. The Council for Wales, an appointed body, responsible to the government, made an investigation and in 1963 published a report *The Welsh language today.* [19] In the foreword the Council noted that in various spheres the role of the Welsh language 'is a subject of vital, indeed passionate interest' and urged the government to make a sympathetic response to its proposals.

In 1967 Parliament passed the *Welsh Language Act* which gave Welsh 'equal validity' with English. Many official forms from central and local government have been made available in Welsh, or bilingually; any person may communicate with government departments in Welsh, and may receive a reply in Welsh. Welsh may be used by any person who so wishes in the courts of law. It is hard to imagine that before the Welsh Courts Act of 1942 Welshmen were actively discouraged, and sometimes even prevented, from using Welsh in court. By many people the present position is not regarded as satisfactory because, though Welsh may be used, evidence has to be translated into English. It is felt by some that when a barrister makes his plea, much of its impact is lost if it has to be constantly interrupted for translation. Despite the undoubted advances made since the 1967 Act, Welsh still has a very inferior status as compared with English.

The Welsh Committee of the Arts Council gives considerable support to the theatre and publishing in Wales. It provides financial assistance for the professional theatrical companies and for theatres which would otherwise be unable to function. There would hardly be any professional drama in Wales without the help of the Arts Council.

It also supports writers, by awarding travel grants, writers' fellowships and bursaries, and providing subsidies for Welsh publishers to enable them to operate in a small market. In 1976–77 some 135 manuscripts were discussed and 55 eventually published. The total amount spent on promoting literature in Welsh and English was £220,000.

The Welsh Books Council was formed in 1962; its aims are:

(a) by awarding grants and other means to encourage writing in and translating into Welsh for adults;
(b) to encourage, promote and assist the production and distribution of books and other literary material in Welsh or of Welsh interest;
(c) to organise and hold exhibitions of such books and other literary materials.

The Books Council is maintained by contributions from local authorities (£36,000 in 1977–78) and the Welsh Arts Council (£84,000 in 1977–78). It has a Publications panel to decide on awarding grants to authors; an Editorial department to offer editorial advice and service; a Design department with a full-time professional designer in charge to ensure an acceptable standard of design in Welsh books; a Publicity department to ensure that information about books reaches the public, to hold exhibitions throughout Wales and at the Frankfurt Book Fair, to hold book festivals and to mount book selling campaigns; a Marketing department to organise the distribution of books and improve sales; and a Books centre which stores and distributes books on a commercial basis. During 1976–77 its receipts from sales were £220,000.

The Council for the Welsh Language was set up by the Secretary of State for Wales in 1973, with the following terms of reference:

> 'To examine and keep under review social and other factors affecting the use and welfare of the Welsh language and the relationship between these and the use of both languages in Wales;
>
> to promote understanding and cooperation between groups of people and public authorities in Wales regarding the use and encouragement of the Welsh language by giving guidance and making recommendations;
>
> to advise the Secretary of State on matters he may refer to it; to make recommendations to him on matters affecting the language; and to report to him from time to time.'

It was dissolved at the end of 1977, but in its four years had produced a number of very valuable reports. These include one on the *Welsh language in nursery education*[20] which led to the annual grant from the Welsh Office to the Welsh Nursery School Movement; a second in support of the *Urdd's* children's magazines in Welsh, which resulted in government and local authority help to enable them to continue; a third on *Teaching Welsh to adults,*[21] which has not yet received

any action, and its final report on *Welsh in education,* which has not yet been published.

BBC Wales operates a radio and television service and Harlech TV services Wales and the West of England. Approximately twelve hours a week of Welsh language television materials are provided by those two corporations and a similar output is maintained in English, almost all in off-peak hours. The programmes cover a wide range of interests – news, current affairs, drama, music, light entertainment of various kinds, religious and educational programmes. It is universally conceded that this provision is inadequate by comparison with what is available in English. For many years there has been a growing demand that one of the channels be devoted exclusively to Welsh language programmes and the government has declared this will be done as soon as economic conditions permit. The BBC already operates a Welsh national radio service for several hours every day with English language programmes on the medium wave and Welsh programmes on VHF.

Urdd Gobaith Cymru is a voluntary youth movement, widely supported throughout Wales, with a membership of over 50,000. It was established by Sir Ifan ap O M Edwards over 50 years ago. It takes an interest in those aspects of public life which are important to the language and has been the prime mover in pressing for a Welsh television channel.

The *Urdd* has a network of branches throughout Wales, many in the schools, and a staff of full-time organisers. Its main activities are its camps at Glanllyn (Bala) and Llangrannog, where children and young people spend one-week courses and week-end courses in activities which reflect the Welsh cultural heritage. In these courses great emphasis is placed on developing self confidence by a variety of out-door activities. The Welsh language occupies pride of place, and special classes are organised for Welsh learners.

The *Urdd* also organises its annual *Eisteddfod* which, starting from local eliminating competitions, brings the successful competitors from all parts of Wales to the *Urdd* National *Eisteddfod.* This is held in North and South Wales alternately and is strongly supported by grants from the local authorities. The *Eisteddfod* is held over four days and competitions are organised in a great range of activities including music, poetry, art and crafts and dance. It also publishes four magazines each month, two for Welsh speakers and two for learners. These are used extensively in schools and are extremely valuable educational materials.

Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Frenhinol Cymru (The Royal National Eisteddfod) – the great annual festival of the arts in Wales – is held in the first week of August and, like the *Urdd Eisteddfod,* visits North and South Wales alternately. It includes competitions in a wide range of subjects, perhaps the best known of which is the competition for the best ode, for which the winning bard is presented with a bardic chair. In addition to the competitions, concerts of international quality are arranged in the evenings.

Welsh is the only official language of the *Eisteddfod* and although there is some agitation to make it bilingual, the majority opinion is that it is imperative that Welsh retain its exclusive status for this one week of the year.

There are a number of other organisations in Wales striving to give status to Welsh. Among these are *Merched y Wawr* (an organisation similar to the Women's Institute but which conducts its business entirely in Welsh), the Welsh Language Society (a pressure group aiming to gain recognition for Welsh in the public service, television and aspects of the business life of Wales), *Adfer* and *Cymdeithas Tai Gwynedd,* which seek to ensure that empty houses in Welsh Wales are made available for local people rather than becoming holiday homes. *Adfer* has extended its aims to include the development of *Y Fro Gymraeg* (the Welsh-speaking part of Wales) in which Welsh would be the only language.

There is now a general awareness throughout Wales that the language is fighting perhaps its last battle for survival. A number of organisations in addition to those already described are making strenuous efforts to keep the language alive. Whether these efforts will prove successful remains to be seen, but there can be no doubt that the next ten years or so will be decisive.

Welsh communities abroad

There are Welsh communities in a number of major population centres in England and many in other countries, mainly those of the Commonwealth. However the most interesting Welsh-speaking community is in Patagonia, in Argentina.

From the late eighteenth century onwards there was massive emigration from Wales, mainly to America, and several attempts to establish Welsh-speaking communities were made, but these tended to be overcome by the process of integration. Under the leadership of Rev Michael D Jones of Bala, a movement to establish a Welsh community in virgin territory came into being. They believed that such a land had been found in Patagonia, where 135 settlers from Wales and America, led by Lewis Jones (after whom the main city Trelew – *lit* Lew's town – was named) set out to create a new Wales – *y Wladfa.*

The first wave of Welsh immigrants settled in the Chubut province in 1865 and was joined by other settlers during the following forty years or so. Their aim was to establish a Welsh community within the state of Argentina, and until the 1930's they seemed to have succeeded. They organised their own legal and educational systems, conducted in Welsh, but as central government came to exercise more control over the outlying territories Welsh was replaced by Castellano as the only language permitted in schools and Welsh law was replaced by Argentinian law. The social fabric, however, continued to be largely Welsh in character, with the chapels the focal point of traditional Welsh cultural activities – drama, music and the *eisteddfod.* Welsh was also the language of social intercourse.

The absence of recognition of Welsh in the schools of the province, the increasing influence of central government in the affairs of people, the lack of any Welsh language films, newspapers, television and radio programmes (apart from one half-hour weekly radio programme in which some Welsh is used) the rapid growth in population following some industrialisation in the Trelew area, the decline in the influence of the chapels and considerable inter-marriage between Argentinians of Welsh and other origins have led to a considerable weakening in the position of the language.

Welsh is by now the language of middle-aged and elderly people in the main, although many younger people can speak Welsh and many more understand it. It is however the language of the individual person or family and is used in informal contacts with little, if any, social life to sustain it and give it significance in the community.

Recently a request came from the Welsh community for assistance from Wales to establish classes to teach Welsh, and the Director of the National Language Unit (Wales) spent a few weeks in March 1978 taking classes and training local teachers in an attempt to initiate a programme of voluntary Welsh language teaching. The response was enthusiastic and classes are now being held in two centres, with the possibility of a third later.

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Organisations concerned with promoting the Welsh Language

Adfer	Emyr Ll Jones, Felin Fach, ger Llanbedr, Dyfed
BBC	Llandaf, Caerdydd
Cymdeithas Tai Gwynedd	Ffordd Llanllyfni, Penygroes
Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg	5, Maes Albert, Aberystwyth
Harlech TV	Pontcanna, Cardiff
Merched y Wawr	Mrs Enid Jones, 37 Heol Abergwili, Caerfyrddin
National Eisteddfod of Wales	Emyr Jenkins, Swyddfa Eisteddfod Genedlaethol, Caerdydd
National Language Unit of Wales	Brook Street, Trefforest, Pontypridd, Mid-Glamorgan
Urdd Gobaith Cymru	Aberystwyth
Welsh Education Office	Government Buildings, Tŷ Glas Road, Llanishen, Cardiff
Welsh Joint Education Committee	245 Western Avenue, Cardiff

Interchapter:

Irish

Gaelige

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Celtic, a branch of the Indo-European family of languages, spread over Europe and parts of Asia some 3,000 years ago. The precise date of the arrival of the Celts in Ireland is uncertain but a date around 300 BC is generally accepted. There is much difference of opinion on the origin of the division between 'p' Celtic (Welsh and Cornish) and 'q' Celtic (Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Manx), but some scholars hold that 'p' Celtic represents the primitive language and that it was the influence on it of the pre-Celtic languages in Ireland that brought Irish into being. Be that as it may, Irish spread to Scotland from the sixth century onwards and developed into what is commonly known as Scottish Gaelic. A further off-shoot is Manx, the language of the Isle of Man up to about 200 years ago. Scottish Gaelic always had dialectal differences from Irish but until the seventeenth century Irish, Scottish and Manx scholars could communicate readily with each other. With the break-up of Gaelic civilisation in Ireland, however, the languages became increasingly divergent.

The beginnings of writing in Irish came with the introduction of the Latin alphabet in the fifth century AD. Before that time the Irish had evolved a system of writing known as Ogham, which was used mainly on inscriptions on stone. For four centuries up to c 900 AD a considerable body of literature was written, some of which still survives in the form commonly known as Old Irish. Thus, apart from Latin and Greek, Irish has the oldest vernacular literature in Europe and includes the famous *Táin Bó Cuailgne* or Cattle Raid of Cooley, an ancient Irish epic.

The Middle Irish period, c 900 to 1250 AD, was one of struggle between the monastic style and the evolving language of the people. This period saw the culmination of the Sagas of the Red Branch Knights in which Cúchulain appears as the central character. From *c* 1250 to 1650 was the Early Modern or Classical Period of Irish, best known, perhaps, for the stories of Fionn MacCumhaill and the Fianna.

From *c* 1600 onwards, the classical style began to disappear and dialects to develop. At this time, Irish, with centuries of rich tradition behind it, was the language of the whole country outside the Pale (the area around Dublin). It was really in the seventeenth century, after the Battle of Kinsale and the Flight of the Earls, that English gained the upper hand. The enactment of the Penal Laws, the placing of English-speaking bishops and clergy throughout the country and the 'Plantation' brought about a situation whereby in 1851 only 23 per cent

of the people spoke Irish. But it is from this date until the end of the century that the final decline set in. According to the Census of 1891, over 750,000 people in Ireland were bilingual and only 66,140 could speak Irish alone. A movement for revival of the language began at the end of the nineteenth century and some agreement was reached on how the language should be written. Some enthusiasts advocated the survival of the language in its classical form but the majority favoured the living language as then represented in the Gaelic-speaking areas. Thus the three main dialects, as spoken in Munster, Connacht and Ulster became equally acceptable with consequent problems, especially in the production of school text-books. In 1962, a new spelling *(Litriú Nua)* was introduced to bring the written language nearer to daily speech. In 1951 it was estimated that around 30,000 people used Irish as their normal medium of speech and of these only 3,000 had no knowledge of English. The areas where native Irish survives are on the western fringes of the country and are commonly referred to as *Na Gaeltachta.*

As with other languages, the speech of the peoples with which Irish came into contact have had a marked influence on its development. The first and most noticeable feature of this influence is the great number of Latin words, especially those relating to the Church. These often reflect the Welsh pronunciation of Latin, eg Welsh *esgob,* Irish *easpag* from Latin *episcopus.* Later nautical terms in particular were introduced from the Scandinavian languages. These were followed by Norman-French and, of course, English. Borrowings were assimilated, as far as possible, into the Irish phonetic system.

As has been mentioned earlier, the Latin alphabet was the basis of Irish orthography. Of the 26 letters used in the English alphabet, only eighteen are used in Irish – j, k, q, v, w, x, y and z are omitted. Irish has, however, approximately 60 phonemes, ie one-third more than English and more than most other European languages. The following are a few of the special characteristics of the language:

(i) The case system is still retained in the declension of nouns;
(ii) Vowels may have an accent (known as *Fada* = long) to indicate length;
(iii) Lenition and nasalisation often called aspiration and eclipsis occur frequently;
(iv) Nouns are either masculine or feminine, no neuter gender now exists;
(v) Consonants have distinct variations in sound depending on the quality, ie broad or slender, of the nearest vowel;
(vi) The verb normally comes at the beginning of the sentence and an adjective normally follows the word it describes;
(vii) There is only one article, the definite *an* = the.

Irish declined more quickly in Northern Ireland than in most other parts of the country, owing to the greater influence of England, both linguistically and in other respects, but this decline was not as complete or as early as is often assumed. Small pockets of Irish survived in the mountainous regions of the province well into the present century and there remain a few who know Irish as a mother tongue. The teaching of Irish is now confined almost exclusively to schools under Roman Catholic management. In 1977 some 1,754 candidates took GCE 'O' level Irish and 320 'A' level, and there were 163 entrants for CSE. Celtic

languages and literature are offered at both universities, Queen's University (Belfast) and the New University of Ulster (Coleraine), as well as in teacher training colleges for Roman Catholic students. A number of people understand the language but do not use it as normal speech. There are also individuals, families and small groups who use the acquired language as their normal means of communication.

Chapter 2:

Scottish Gaelic

Gaidhlig

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Roimh-ràdh

A reir a'chunntais a rinneadh an 1971 bha còrr is 88000 os cionn 3 bliadhna dh'aois ann an Albainn aig an robh comas Gàidhlig agus Beurla a bhruidhinn. Bha iad seo an ire mhaith sgapte, ach gheibhear a'mhór-chuid dhiubh ann an Innse-Gall agus air an oirthir an iar de'n dùthaich.

Bha latha eil'ann. Is ainneamh ceàrnaidh de'n dùthaich anns nach robh buaidh aig a'Ghàidhlig aon uair. Ach is ann a tha an t-iongnadh gun do mhair i idir beò agus na rinneadh de spàirn fad iomadh linn gus i fhéin agus na daoine bhruidhneadh i a chur fo smàig.

'Se sgeul eile th'ann a nis. Tha iomadh oidhearp 'g a dhèanamh an diugh gus a 'Ghàidhlig a neartachadh agus a thoirt air adhart – gu h-àraidh anns na sgoiltean, agus gu sònraichte anns na h-Eileanan an Iar. Chan fhaod e bhith nach tig piseach ri linn sin aig gach ire de dh'fhoghlum. Is mór a'mhisneachd a gheibhear mar thoradh air cunntas bhuidhnean – cuid inoadail, cuid nàiseanta – a bhith dol gu dùrachdach an co-phàirt gus cànan is cultur nan Gaidheal a bheothachadh agus a neartachadh. Ach cha robh Bheurla riamh cho cumhachdach 's a tha i'n diugh, 's an dachaidh agus 'sa' choimhearsnachd. Agus cha robh riamh roimhe feum cho mór air saothair a ghabhail ris a' Ghàidhlig.

Foreword

According to the census carried out in 1971 there were over 88,000 people aged over three years in Scotland able to speak Gaelic and English. These were fairly scattered, but most were located in the Hebrides and on the west coast of the country.

Times have changed. There was a time when Gaelic exerted an influence in almost every part of the country. But the surprising thing is that it survived at all, considering how much effort was devoted, over many centuries, to subdue both the language itself and the people who spoke it.

The situation is quite different now. Numerous attempts are being made today to reinforce and promote Gaelic, especially in schools, and particularly in the Western Isles. There is a good deal of encouragement to be drawn from the fact that a number of agencies – some local, some national – are collaborating in reviving and strengthening the language and culture of the Gael. But English was never as powerful as it is today, both in home and community. And never has there been such a great need to work in the interests of Gaelic.

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Some historical notes

Like its predecessors from 1891 onwards, the *1971 Census (Scotland)* sought to establish the number of persons in Scotland able to speak Gaelic and English. It also introduced for the first time an enquiry into the extent of Gaelic literacy among those able to speak both languages. From 1891, comparative figures for successive decades had shown a steady decline in the number of Gaelic speakers from 210,000 in that year to 80,000 in 1961. Rather unexpectedly for some, and for others perhaps predictably, the number of persons aged three and over able to speak Gaelic and English increased in 1971 to 88,415. This figure represents 1.7 per cent of the total Scottish population aged three and over, as against 1.5 per cent in 1961 and 5.2 per cent in 1891. Whether this increase was due to improved facilities for learning Gaelic, or to a change of attitude encouraging more people with some knowledge of the language to declare themselves as able to speak it, or to some other cause, must remain uncertain. Whatever the reason, the figures invite some speculation about the position of Gaelic to be revealed by the next census in 1981.

The 88,415 bilinguals identified by the census of 1971 were fairly widely dispersed throughout the country but there was a firm concentration of Gaelic speakers in the Outer and Inner Hebrides and in some west mainland communities from Sutherland to Argyll. Table 1 and the map on the inside back cover show in detail the relative strength of Gaelic in the areas of greatest intensity.

Table 1: 1971: Distribution of Gaelic/English bilinguals aged three-plus

	Western Isles	*Sutherland District*	*Ross & Cromarty District*	*Skye & Lochalsh District*	*Inverness District*	*Lochaber District*	*Argyll & Bute*	*Glasgow City*
Total	23205	1310	3030	5525	3455	3550	7350	12865
% of total popu-lation	82	11	9	59	7	20	12	1.4

(Source: *Census 1971 Scotland Gaelic Report)*

The location of the main Gaelic-speaking population in the Hebrides and in certain communities on the west coast followed a gradual retreat by Gaelic from a former position of considerable strength. Following the founding of Dalriada in the late fifth century by Gaelic-speaking Irish settlers, the language exerted, at various times and with varying intensity, a significant influence in all parts of Scotland except Lothian and the Northern Isles. Its resilience is well demonstrated by its ability to survive the stern political measures of the eighteenth

and nineteenth centuries exemplified in the proscriptions following the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 and the series of repressive actions known as the Highland Clearances. Despite these, and the more subtle efforts over many years to undermine the Gaelic way of life by making English the predominant medium of education throughout the whole country, 300,000 of the estimated population of 335,000 in the Highlands and Islands at the beginning of the nineteenth century understood no language other than Gaelic.

We are far removed now from proscription and repression. No active, positive prohibition exists today to prevent the use of Gaelic in any aspect of life. In effect, however, English is firmly established, even in areas where Gaelic is habitually spoken by the majority, and English continues to play the dominant role in the official domain, as it does in education. Official letters, forms, notices, title deeds and similar documents are invariably in English. Public meetings are conducted in English, largely because the convention in such activities in the past was established by incomers not conversant with Gaelic. Arrangements for the public to conduct business with central or local government departments in Gaelic are largely undeveloped. Even in the Western Isles, many officials are themselves still inadequately equipped to deal with those members of the public who may elect to use Gaelic rather than English.

There is clearly an emerging desire for increased recognition of Gaelic on an official level, and important initiatives towards that end are now being projected. Among these are the provision of bilingual forms, notices and road signs, and acceptance of Gaelic in law, banking, the civil service, the post office and so on, but though some minor concessionary advances have been made, such as the introduction of some Gaelic stamps, cheque books, signs on banks, offices and streets, progress has been slow and spasmodic. The Western Isles Islands Council has recently produced a comprehensive declaration of intent which seeks to establish parity for Gaelic and English in appropriate situations within all spheres of the council's activity. This will have far-reaching effects, certainly in the Western Isles, and possibly elsewhere. Efforts to support and extend bilingual provision at all levels of public life have also been made by *An Comunn Gaidhealach* (The Highland Association), who have organised a seminar on bilingualism and set up a small working party to consider how bilingual practice might be established in appropriate parts of the country. The Highland Regional Council has recently formed a sub-committee to consider measures for identifying and developing the role of Gaelic at various levels within the region.

For the most part, efforts to establish Gaelic in official life are as yet but tentative, and the whole issue is still seen by many as marginal or unrealistic. Gaelic in education, on the other hand, is fast becoming an accepted provision, thanks to increasing recognition of the relevance of the mother tongue as a necessary dimension in education. It has not, however, always been so. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the first attempt was made to bring a literate education to the Gaelic area, until the end of the eighteenth century, the main initiatives in educational provision for the Gaelic-speaking population were directed towards establishing and disseminating English at the expense of the mother tongue. This aim was made explicit in a succession of enactments from

such bodies, for example, as the Scottish Privy Council and the General Asssembly of the Church of Scotland. Even the most widely distributed of the charity schools, those run by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), pursued a similar aim from the inception of that society in 1701 until 1767, when the first Gaelic version of the New Testament was printed. From this point a more liberal outlook on Gaelic began gradually to emerge. Previously, the attitude of the Society had followed the policy laid down in 1716 that 'nothing can be more effectual for reducing these countries to order and making them useful to the Commonwealth than teaching them their duty to God, their King and Country, and rooting out their Irish language'. Gaelic was stated to be 'one of the chief and principal causes of barbarity and incivility' and until 1767 any teacher in the employment of the Society who taught his pupils to read Gaelic was liable to be dismissed from service. The revised attitude towards Gaelic by the SPCK which developed gradually from 1767 onwards is reflected in the resolution passed in that year 'that the Society's regulations enjoining the schoolmasters not to teach the scholars Earse (ie Gaelic) be altered and that in time coming schoolmasters in those places in the Highlands where the Earse language is generally spoken be enjoined to teach their scholars to read both Earse and English'. In 1824 it was enacted that Gaelic-speaking children in the Society's schools were to learn to read Gaelic before they should begin to read English. Provision for teaching in Gaelic, so long curtailed, thus finally became recognised as an object of the Society which had formerly devoted itself to the extinction of the language.

It seems likely that the SPCK and its kindred associations were influenced, in revising their attitude towards Gaelic, by the aims and experience of the circulating schools set up from 1811 onwards by Gaelic societies in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Inverness. The aims of this provision were delineated as follows at the inaugural meeting of the Edinburgh Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools – 'the most expeditious, cheapest and most effectual method of promoting the instruction of the inhabitants of the Highlands and Islands is the erection of circulating schools for the express purpose of instructing them in the Gaelic language'. Despite modest resources and unfavourable working conditions these schools achieved creditable results and by 1861 the Edinburgh Society's schools alone could claim to have taught over 100,000 persons to read the Gaelic bible and distributed 200,000 Gaelic volumes. This work was reinforced by some 200 schools set up in the Highlands and Islands by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for the purpose of teaching reading, writing and arithmetic. These operated on the principle that 'the ability to read Gaelic (is) a prerequisite to the study of other branches'.

The work of the Gaelic schools was not, however, sufficiently evident to overcome the established animus against the language. The prejudice received tacit expression in the *Education (Scotland) Act* of 1872, which resulted in the establishment in the Highlands and Islands of an educational system conforming closely to that for the rest of the country. The lack of recognition in the Act of the peculiar linguistic situation of the Gaelic area seems quite irrational. Gaelic was not even mentioned. This omission was not, however, accepted with

indifference, and the cause, taken up with alacrity and vigour by the newly formed Gaelic Society of Inverness, was supported by several prominent educationists and political figures. It was only in 1891, however, following a series of hard-won minor references to Gaelic in successive editions of the Schools (Scotland) code, that the 'Gaelic clause' was inserted in the Education Act. The relevant paragraph in the Act laid a duty upon education authorities to produce schemes of education including adequate provision for teaching Gaelic in Gaelic-speaking areas. Despite this requirement and the consequent provision for the teaching of Gaelic as a secondary school subject the general pattern in the education of Gaelic-speaking children continued for many years to be one of using it only when there was a clear necessity to do so. English was the established medium, and the use of Gaelic was generally discarded once the pupil achieved a modest competence in English. Despite increasing official support an implicit prejudice against Gaelic continued to be exercised in schools. Not surprisingly, this has contributed to the irrational but understandable attitude of many native Gaelic speakers, who are either apathetic towards the language or express a conscious determination that their children at least will not be exposed to the 'disadvantages' of bilingualism.

Gaelic in the community

There is now at various levels a considerable recognition of the need to make amends for the disadvantages to which Gaelic was often subject in the past. A progressively favourable, supportive official attitude towards the development of Gaelic in schools is reflected also in an increasing consciousness of the importance of promoting the language in other sectors of education, ranging from pre-school to youth and community provision. A growing number of agencies, some statutory, some voluntary, are concerning themselves in a positive manner with the development of Gaelic at different levels, both within the Gaelic-speaking districts and elsewhere in Scotland.

The goodwill and support of the Scottish Education Department are clearly evident in the dialogue which the Department maintains with the organisations concerned in the promotion of Gaelic, no less than in the financial support afforded in grant aid to these bodies. The main recipients of financial aid from the Department for the development of Gaelic are *An Comunn Gaidhealach* and the Gaelic Books Council; and *Sabhal Mor Ostaig*, a Gaelic college set up as a private venture in Skye, has recently qualified for an annual grant. All these organisations have also been assisted by the Scottish Arts Council and the Highlands and Islands Development Board.

An Comunn Gaidhealach was founded in 1891 as a voluntary organisation aimed at encouraging and supporting the teaching, learning and use of the Gaelic language. Initially concerned with exiled Gaels in the larger urban centres and with organising local and national Gaelic *mods*, and other forms of Gaelic-based social activity, the organisation moved in the early 1960's from Glasgow to Inverness, formed regional councils and appointed a full-time directorate staff. The organisation liaises widely with bodies interested in all aspects of life –

social, educational, cultural and economic – both within and outside the Highlands and Islands: it acts frequently as spokesman for the Gaelic community in general and engages in the production of teaching materials, publication of Gaelic books for adults and children, and the provision of Gaelic language tuition for adults and young people, through summer schools, weekend residential courses and a correspondence course. The association has some 60 branches in all parts of Scotland and its membership at present is approximately 3,500.

Gaelic still awaits significant development as a medium in community education, though in informal situations it remains a natural form of communication in many communities throughout the Hebrides. Uniformed youth organisations, a concept transplanted from a different cultural milieu, conduct their activities in English, although some youth clubs, more representative of an indigenous growth, tend to use both languages. The general aim of the experimental community project *(Proisect Muinntir nan Eilean)* recently initiated in the Western Isles under the joint auspices of the Western Isles Islands Council and the Bernard van Leer Foundation, is to assist communities towards a closer self-awareness and so to identify ways of improving the general quality of life. While it is not a stated aim of this project to develop the use of Gaelic, it will undoubtedly foster and promote the language in a natural, uncontrived manner. Similarly, the community cinema project operating in the same area will give appropriate prominence to Gaelic, and additional impetus to the spoken language will be lent by the proposed development of a Gaelic repertory company.

In recent years one of the most interesting innovations in informal further education has been the establishment of a Gaelic college in a partly renovated complex of steadings at Ostaig, in the Sleat peninsula of Skye. The aims of this development are to provide courses in Gaelic language and culture for adult learners and school pupils and generally to promote an interest in Gaelic language, culture and institutions both contemporary and traditional – and not only for the local Skye community but for visitors from various parts of the British Isles and the continent. Among the activities promoted by the college are summer schools, seminars on bilingualism, visits to and from schools, piping tuition, Gaelic lectures, literary evenings, and recitals of story and song. The college has its own writer in residence and has been supported by subventions from the Scottish Arts Council, the Scottish Education Department, the Highlands and Islands Development Board, and the Gulbenkian Foundation. Possibilities of links with a Scottish university are at an advanced stage of exploration, and these should provide added support and status for the work of the college as well as diversifying the university's area of operation into the field of Gaelic.

A gratifying aspect of the development of informal further education related to Gaelic is the mutually supportive contact being established among the various voluntary organisations involved, and between these and the statutory bodies, notably the Scottish Education Department, the Highlands and Islands Development Board and the Western Isles Island Council. All this activity cannot fail to improve the general Gaelic climate in the community and thus to create and sustain attitudes favourable to the development of Gaelic within the statutory educational system.

Gaelic in schools

The statutory instruments which define the place of Gaelic in the Scottish education system are the *Education (Scotland) Act 1962* and the *Schools (Scotland) Code 1956.* The latter states:

> 'In Gaelic-speaking areas reasonable provision shall be made in schemes of work for the instruction of Gaelic-speaking pupils in the Gaelic language and literature, and the Gaelic language shall be used where appropriate for instructing Gaelic-speaking pupils in other subjects'.

This statement could be seen as conferring considerable freedom for developing Gaelic education for Gaelic speakers, if the providing agencies are sufficiently enterprising and committed. Some Gaelic protagonists would maintain, however, that the terms of the statement should be less permissive and that reference should be made also to provision for pupils wishing to acquire Gaelic. At any rate, the terms of the code have often been narrowly interpreted at Authority and school level, and provision has in general been related much more to the teaching of Gaelic as a subject than to its use as a medium in bilingual education programmes. The unfortunate omission of any reference to Gaelic in the 1872 Act had far-reaching consequences and delayed unduly the acceptance of Gaelic as a valid component even in the education of Gaelic-speaking pupils. Indeed the concept of Gaelic in education still awaits full validation in the minds of many pupils, parents and teachers, themselves Gaelic-speaking. Not surprisingly, important recommendations on Gaelic in the memorandum *Primary education in Scotland 1965* received less urgent attention than they should – for example:

> 'It is the duty of the primary school to maintain and develop Gaelic as a living means of communication and expression. If the primary school is to discharge its function fully . . . . . it will not only teach the mother tongue as a subject in its own right but also use it functionally when appropriate as a means of instructing Gaelic-speaking pupils in other subjects'.

This principle is, of course, reinforced and confirmed by the *Bullock Report* in its statement:

> 'Every school with pupils whose original language is not English should adopt a positive attitude to their bilingualism and wherever possible help maintain and deepen their knowledge of their mother tongue',

and

> 'No child should be expected to cast off the language and culture of the home as he crosses the school threshold, and the curriculum should reflect those aspects of his life'.

This principle is gaining a justifiable acceptance in regard to immigrant minorities: it should equally be accepted in relation to indigenous groups.

(a) Primary schools

During the past twenty years particularly there has been a gradual recognition among primary teachers of the need to make increased provision for Gaelic, and the efforts of a small corps of Gaelic and Gaelic-speaking advisers have provided encouragement and support at Authority level. Nursery education in Gaelic-speaking areas has not yet been widely developed, and provision of pre-school playgroups using the Gaelic medium is not yet widespread, though some such groups have been set up, mainly in the Western Isles. It falls largely to the infants teacher, therefore, to reinforce the mother tongue at a stage when it is increasingly vulnerable to the domination of English. There is no doubt that a new outlook is emerging in many primary schools in the Gaelic-speaking area. More prominence is given to the spoken language, more interesting contexts provided for developing reading and writing skills. Teachers are streamlining their use of the language, using contemporary Gaelic and so encouraging its validation and use in a wider range of topics and situations. Not infrequently they have had to contend with considerable apathy on the part of parents, some of whom still have a neutral rather than a positive attitude towards the general notion of Gaelic in education. Never has there been greater pressure, in home and community, on children to accept English as their preferred language. Never has there been a heavier responsibility on the schools to maintain Gaelic.

The most vigorous initiative in the promotion of Gaelic in recent years has come, not unexpectedly, from the Western Isles, where reorganisation of local government in 1975 brought into being a new authority in which over 80 per cent of the population are bilingual. Recognition of the potential in this situation is found in the discussion document *The bilingual policy: a consultative document,* recently produced and incorporating the Council's aspirations towards a bilingual policy. This seeks to establish parity for Gaelic and English in appropriate situations within the Council's various spheres of responsibility. The implications for educational provision are particularly pervasive. Such a policy could only gradually be implemented and it is envisaged that it will take some ten years at least to achieve full effect.

Opportunely, the creation of the new authority in the Western Isles coincided with the establishment of a Gaelic-English Bilingual Education Project in the same area. Sponsored jointly by the Scottish Education Department and the Western Isles Islands Council this project is now in the third year of its first phase, and a second three-year phase has recently been approved. To date the attention of the project team, which consists of a Director and two experienced teachers seconded by the education authority, has been concentrated on a sample of twenty primary schools of various sizes. In these there has been a phased development with concentration in successive years on lower, middle and upper stages. The central aim of the second span of the project will be to consolidate the gains made in these schools, and simultaneously to disseminate the techniques and resources arising from these to other schools, both in the Western Isles and elsewhere. Of course, the implications for development at secondary level will clearly call for attention, too.

In the words of the Director, the project has endeavoured 'to free Gaelic from its previously restricted set of operation, to allow it to flow across the curriculum'.

In other words, to establish Gaelic not as a narrow, rigid subject of study but as a true educational medium, itself contributing to the curriculum while drawing animation from it. Increasingly this aim is being realised in many of the project schools; new expertise, new resources, new techniques are being developed, and new opportunities are being created for staff to engage in consultation and cooperative ventures. As a result, there is a growing awareness that increased use of the mother tongue enriches and enlivens the general educational experience of Gaelic-speaking children.

Outside the Western Isles the main initiative is related to the needs of pupils who are not Gaelic-speaking although they live in a Gaelic environment, or if pupils who may wish to acquire a knowledge of the language even though there is little incidence of it in their community. In this situation, provision tends to be uneven and sometimes ephemeral. Frequently it depends on the largely fortuitous presence of Gaelic-speaking teachers in primary classes or on the appointment of visiting specialists who are reluctant to take up or remain in such posts if general teaching posts are available to them.

Although a relatively large number of Gaelic-speaking pupils are still to be found in primary schools in certain other areas of Scotland, notably in Skye, the major incidence of Gaelic among primary pupils is in the Western Isles, where it has been calculated that about 75 per cent (ie just under 3,000) have some knowledge of it. Outside the town of Stornoway and its hinterland (and discounting the immigrant community of army families in South Uist) some 88 per cent of primary pupils have a knowledge of Gaelic, and 68 per cent of these are fluent speakers. Of the 1,100 pupils involved in the Bilingual Education Project almost 1,000 (92.7 per cent) are bilingual to various degrees. Of these 1,100, 71.8 per cent are fluent speakers, 9.2 per cent are moderately fluent, 9.3 per cent have limited fluency and 9.7 per cent have no Gaelic. Relating the number of Gaelic-speaking primary pupils in the Western Isles to the national scene, it may be noted that it represents about 0.5 per cent of the total Scottish primary rolls.

(b) Secondary schools

A total of 34 education authority secondary schools or departments make provision for the teaching of Gaelic as a subject. These range in size from the two-year, twelve pupil, secondary department on the island of Eriskay to the large six-year schools in Stornoway and the urban centres on the mainland. Outside the education authority sector some provision is made in two secondary schools, one in Glasgow and one near Aberdeen.

The total number of secondary pupils studying Gaelic at all stages is slightly under 3,000, and the ratio between native speakers and learners is roughly two: three. In the Western Isles, surprisingly, the ratio is no greater than three:two. This reflects, of course, an increasing process of anglicisation, as well as an increasing provision for pupils to study Gaelic as a second language. Outside the Western Isles, the number of Gaelic-speaking pupils studying Gaelic is about 120, as against about 1,200 learners – a further indication of the growing provision for learners.

In the Western Isles it is assumed that all secondary pupils will take Gaelic in their first year and several schools see it as an essential element throughout the two-year common course. At the third-year stage, the variety of subject options open to pupils makes serious inroads on the uptake of Gaelic. Indeed, some 30 per cent of the total secondary population in the Western Isles at any time do not include Gaelic in their course of study. This can be expected to change as the Western Isles bilingual policy gradually takes effect. There are long-term implications in the policy for the development of Gaelic in general secondary provision and not only in Gaelic departments. Elsewhere in Scotland the main, though not exclusive, emphasis will remain on provision for learners. It is likely, therefore, that there will be a continued concentration on Gaelic as a subject in these schools. The importance is now being recognised, however, of providing broader courses designated as Gaelic Studies, Scottish Studies or Celtic Studies.

External examinations

The number of pupils completing recognised Gaelic courses is shown in statistics produced by the Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board, which administers four separate examinations in Gaelic, on the Ordinary Grade and Higher Grade both for native speakers and learners. Over the past five years these show a reasonable level of consistency, but a discernible increase in the number of candidates taking the Learners 'O' Grade examination and a general decrease in those presented for the Native Speakers 'H' grade papers.

Table 2: Average presentations in examinations, 1973–77:

'O' Grade Native Speakers	132
'O' Grade Learners	186
'H' Grade Native Speakers	72
'H' Grade Learners	91

The future pattern is difficult to predict. In the Western Isles the bilingual policy will certainly affect the position of Gaelic in secondary schools, though development is much more difficult in secondary than in primary schools. In the country as a whole, a crucial factor will be the response of education authorities, schools and Gaelic teachers to the proposals in the *Munn* and *Dunning Reports,* two major national documents on curriculum and assessment, presently under widespread discussion. If interpreted and implemented in a manner which recognises Gaelic as necessary in the education of native speakers and desirable in that of pupils living in Gaelic-speaking areas, these reports could provide considerable incentive to broaden Gaelic courses, extend the application of Gaelic to other curricular interests, and establish the relevance of Gaelic Studies or Celtic Studies within contemporary contexts. The lack of a national development structure related specifically to Gaelic is considered by many to have been a

stumbling block to concerted progress during recent years. The Consultative Committee on the Curriculum is presently conducting a review of its existing structure and machinery for curriculum development, and there are improved prospects, therefore, of Gaelic finding enhanced support and status from a close association with curriculum development structures at national level.

Higher and further education

Three Scottish universities have Celtic Studies departments offering ordinary and honours degree courses which include Gaelic language, literature and historical background studies. Gaelic does not feature prominently as a medium of instruction in these departments, and not infrequently a sizeable proportion of the students are not native Gaelic speakers. A fourth university, though not offering courses in Gaelic, has formed purposeful links with the Gaelic college in Skye and with the Western Isles Bilingual Education Project.

A small number of further education colleges in various parts of the country make provision for Gaelic as a subject. None of these centres uses Gaelic as a medium of instruction except in the teaching of the language itself. There is growing provision of Gaelic for adult learners through evening classes, residential courses, a correspondence course and, in two urban centres, intensive short-term courses based on the 'Ulpan' principle. The School of Scottish Studies at Edinburgh University has collected 7,000 hours of traditional material on tape; at least half is in Gaelic.

Teacher training

Only one college of education offers Gaelic as a subject in teacher training courses. For graduate students this leads to a specialist teaching qualification, but for three-year primary diploma students only an academic option is offered. The diploma students have no Gaelic methods component in their course, though they often carry out their intensive teaching practice in the Gaelic-speaking area. Students taking diploma teaching courses elsewhere, and returning to teach in the Gaelic-speaking area, do so entirely without the benefit of Gaelic provision in their pre-service training. The projected expansion of bilingual education programmes in the Western Isles suggests a strong need for more Gaelic in teacher training at pre-service and in-service levels, especially if other areas, such as the Highland and Strathclyde regions, make increased provision for Gaelic in their schools. In-service training in the use and teaching of Gaelic in schools is undertaken jointly by advisers, HM Inspectorate and colleges of education. In the Western Isles a significant role has been played by the Bilingual Education Project team, who have regularly convened meetings of headteachers, teachers and parents to discuss principles, plan programmes, develop teaching resources and exchange views and experience. As the Western Isles Bilingual Project and bilingual policy become more widespread there will be a continuing need for collaboration over in-service training. The provision must be attractive and

carefully planned and phased for growth and continuity throughout the various stages of the primary and secondary school. Particular thought will need to be given to the training of secondary teachers, since the aims of bilingual education development concern not only Gaelic language content and methods, assessment and syllabus construction, but also the use of Gaelic in teaching other subjects. Teacher supply in Gaelic-speaking areas has generally not presented undue problems, to some extent because of a narrow definition of qualification as the ability to speak Gaelic if teaching Gaelic-speaking infant classes, and possession of a formal Gaelic teaching qualification if teaching it in secondary schools. With the certainty of attempted wider provision of Gaelic in the Western Isles, and the possibility of similar if less concentrated initiatives elsewhere, the need to recruit teachers with Gaelic qualifications will increase, and the type of qualification will have to be diversified.

Teaching materials

An expansion of Gaelic provision implies new and increased teacher training requirements. Similarly with teaching resources. In both cases close cooperation by providing agencies will continue to be essential. During the past ten years in particular there has been a marked increase in the publication of Gaelic books for the general reader. Much of this has been supported by the Gaelic Books Council set up in 1968, grant-aided by the Scottish Education Department and itself awarding grants to publishers, design grants and authors' awards, commissioning special works and organising a mobile sales/distribution service. Despite such initiatives and the efforts of the Joint Committee for Gaelic Textbooks (a consortium of education authorities and other bodies with an interest in Gaelic) to promote the publication of suitable materials, Gaelic resources for use in schools have remained limited in range and quality. Some encouraging developments have recently taken place, however, and again it is gratifying to note that concerted action by bodies with kindred aims and a common commitment has led to significant improvement in provision. The audio-visual course designed for adult learners and produced jointly by *An Comunn Gaidhealach* and the National Extension College, Cambridge is being widely adapted to the needs of learners in secondary schools. Two series of school broadcasts for Gaelic-speaking primary pupils are produced by the BBC and these have been specifically related in content and style to the core studies in the Bilingual Education Project schools. The Bilingual Education Project itself, in collaboration with the Community Education Project, has produced Gaelic versions of 30 English story books for young children, and these are being distributed to playgroups and infant classes in the Western Isles. Most significant of all has been the partnership that has recently linked together the Western Isles Islands Council, the Highlands and Islands Development Board and *An Comunn Gaidhealach* in setting up a commercial publishing company. This has set itself the aim of 'meeting the demands arising from current research in education and from the fresh interest in the Gaelic language'. The Bilingual Education Project is closely associated with this development in an advisory capacity. The project has already gained recognition as an agency very closely attuned to developmental Gaelic needs and one to which teachers and others are willing to offer materials

for evaluation and processing. As a result of these cooperative ventures over twenty new Gaelic books for primary pupils have recently been published. Some of these are original productions, some are adaptations of English versions and published concurrently with them. All are of high technical quality and closely related to pupils' interests. A particularly encouraging feature of these fresh initiatives is the practical interest in Gaelic publication now being taken by some of the foremost national publishing concerns. In the wider context also, there is much encouragement to be drawn from the confluence of a considerable number of influential bodies – some local, some national, some voluntary, some statutory – which increasingly afford practical support to the furtherance of the Gaelic language and culture.

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Scottish Council for Research in Education *Gaelic speaking children in Highland schools* Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh, 1961.

Organisations concerned with promoting the Scottish Gaelic language

Acair Ltd (Gaelic Publishing Company)	Calum Graham, Manager, Cromwell Street Quay, Stornoway, Isle of Lewis
An Comunn Gaidhealach (The Highland Association)	Abertarff House, Inverness
British Broadcasting Corporation	Gaelic Department, Queen Margaret Drive, Glasgow
British Broadcasting Corporation	School Broadcasting Council for Scotland, 5 Queen Street, Edinburgh
Comunn Dràma Ghàidhlig	91 Cromwell Street, Stornoway, Isle of Lewis
Cinema Sgire (Western Isles Cinema Project)	M Russell, Director, Benbecula, South Uist
Club Leabhar (Gaelic Book Club)	F G Thompson, 17 Urquhart Gardens, Stornoway, Isle of Lewis
Education Authorities Highland Region	R Macdonald, Director of Education, Education Office, Regional Buildings, Inverness
Strathclyde Region	E Miller, Director of Education, Education Office, 25 Bothwell Street, Glasgow
Tayside Region	D G Robertson, Director of Education, Education Office, Dundee
Western Isles	A MacLeod, Director of Education, Education Offices, South Beach, Stornoway, Isle of Lewis
Educational Institute of Scotland (Central Gaelic Committee)	46 Moray Place, Edinburgh
Fir-Chlis (Gaelic Repertory Company)	91 Cromwell Street, Stornoway, Isle of Lewis
Gaelic Books Council	Department of Celtic, The University, Glasgow
Gaelic Society of Inverness	H Barron, Secretary, The Granary, Ness Side, Inverness
Gaelic Society of Glasgow	J A Macdonald, Secretary, 18 Manor Road, Jordanhill, Glasgow
Gaelic Language Promotion Trust	4/6 Stevenson Street, Oban, Argyll
Gaelic League of Scotland	c/o Highlanders' Institute, 34 Berkeley Street, Glasgow
Gairm Publications	29 Waterloo Street, Glasgow
Grampian Television	Queen's Cross, Aberdeen
Highlands and Islands Development Board	Bridge House, Bank Street, Inverness
Interskola	per Ian R Findlay, Education Department, Aberdeen College of Education, Aberdeen

Joint Committee for Gaelic Text Books	per F MacNeill, Gaelic Adviser, Divisional Education Office, 1–3 Church Street, Inverness
Jordanhill College of Education	Gaelic and Celtic Studies Department, Southbrae Drive, Glasgow
Proisect Foghlum Dà-Chànanach (Western Isles Bilingual Education Project)	69 Kenneth Street, Stornoway, Isle of Lewis
Proisect Muinntir nan Eilean (Western Isles Community Education Project)	Education Department, Comhairle nan Eilean, Stornoway, Isle of Lewis
Sabhal Mór Ostaig (Gaelic College)	Ostaig, Teangue, Isle of Skye
School of Scottish Studies	27 George Square, Edinburgh
Scottish Adult Literacy Association	57 Melville Street, Edinburgh
Scottish Arts Council	Charlotte Square, Edinburgh
Scottish Business Education Council	22 Great King Street, Edinburgh
Scottish Certificate ofEducation Examination Board (Gaelic Panel)	Ironmills Road, Dalkeith, Midlothian
Scottish Education Department	New St Andrew's House, Edinburgh
Scottish Gaelic Texts Society	per John A Smith, 108 Queen Victoria Drive, Glasgow
University Departments of Celtic Studies	Aberdeen University (Donald Macaulay) Edinburgh University (Professor K Jackson) Glasgow University (Professor D S Thomson)
University of Stirling	Department of Continuing Education, Stirling
University Societies	Aberdeen University Celtic Society, The University, Aberdeen Edinburgh University Highland Society, The University, Edinburgh Glasgow University Ossianic Society, The University, Glasgow St. Andrew's University Celtic Society, The University, St. Andrews.

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Distribution of Gaelic and English speakers in Highland parishes 1971

Percentage of total population speaking Gaelic and English in 1971

80 – 100
60 – 79
40 – 59
20 – 39
0 – 19

(Produced by General Register Office Scotland July 1974)

The older mother tongues of the United Kingdom

Edited by C V James

Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research